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sense of responsibility—a great step in world progress; and it is not a mere supposition to expect that one outcome of the peace settlement conference will be the recognition that violation of international law is a legal injury to every nation. The present sensitiveness should develop into conscience, so that the peace which ends this unfortunate war and the means taken to prevent the violation of its terms will make a new era in international relations. This peace, which follows the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, and the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, the three celebrated cases of combined European action, should usher in an era of law which, as Mr. Root says, will "constrain nations to conduct based upon principles of justice and humanity."

This should be the great step forward. This is the only compensation for the terrible interruption of the processes of civilization. Should not the celebration of Peace Day this year clothe with new significance the meaning of arbitration, mediation, investigation, and conciliation for preventing destructive warfare? One might well include in this observance a description of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, and show its effectiveness in settling the fifteen important

cases which have been taken before it since 1902. The formation of a real world court, so nearly accomplished at the Second Hague Conference, should also be emphasized as an ideal for which the world has hoped and waited. A Peace Day exercise in the schools this year offers a great opportunity to take note of these solid foundations of law and order, and, above all, to point to the underlying spirit of co-operation and good will which has brought the world to the present stage of unification. In so far as this spirit persists will civilization achieve its ideals.

Of all the institutions working for the unification of mankind, the school stands first. On those, therefore, who administer education in this critical time rests the responsibility of preserving and advancing those ideals for which all civilized nations should strive, and especially have the teachers of this nation—a nation founded on democracy, universal brotherhood, and good will—an important and responsible part to play. The observance of the 18th of May this year offers one means of stimulating the desire for law and order. Shall not the teachers of the United States take advantage of this and every other opportunity for spreading the eternal ideas of justice and humanity!

"A LEAGUE TO EXPRESS PEACE"

By DANE S. DUNLOP

MARCH 10, 1916,
RURAL STATION 7,
GREENCASTLE, MD.

Editor ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

DEAR SIR: I was considerably surprised when I saw my letter in print, since, when you wrote me my meeting report would be printed, I supposed you meant the county paper report of my address would be printed. The letter with which I transmitted the address I fear may not be regarded by the dignitaries as very respectful to the "Big Bugs," as I designated certain high-priests of the religion of military force. It happens that in the same mail with your paper comes a church missionary monthly, and I am amused to find in it an exhortation considerably like that in my printed letter. It seems a Tunisian missionary to the North African Arabs by a slight mispronunciation and mistranslation altered a couple of words in the Gideon story, the Arabic words for "trumpet" and "bug" being somewhat similar in sound, and he also used the word for a strike blow instead of air blow, whereupon his rendering became, "Then Gideon said unto them, 'Look on me and do likewise. It shall be that as I do, so shall ye do. When I strike the bug, then strike ye also all your bugs on every side of the camp'!" Alas, too often when we "blow" the "trumpet," we must in reality "strike" the Big "Bugs," for they have such a persistent proclivity for being on the wrong side of reforms of all kinds, because they believe in oligarchism, themselves being the oligarchy! Oligarchism and arbitrary force are synonymous; neither can exist without the other. Therefore every oligarchist is potentially a militarist, and *vice versa*. Sometimes, in order to secure votes, a militarist will pretend not to be

an oligarchist, as was done by the Oyster Bay jingo, he who is the very climax in dictator oligarchy in government, in politics, in business.

The League to Enforce Peace, by using the word enforce, destroyed entirely the word peace, and became a jingo organization. You might as well form a League to Enwater Oil. They do not ordinarily combine. Or you might organize a League to Enforce Life. As a farmer, I most positively assert that you cannot "enforce" life. When we speak of forcing tomatoes or corn, we distinctly understand that we really mean serving tomatoes or corn. We manure, water, cultivate, and pray for sunshine; and we cannot force the plants an inch. If they feel like eating, they eat and grow. And if they take a notion not to, then not all the bullets and forty-leven centimeter bombs we can fire at them will force them to grow. They are just every bit as stubborn as a Frenchman's soul, or an Englishman's soul, or a Russian's soul, or a German's soul, or a Fiji Islander's soul. The Fiji Islanders were changed from soldiers of a cannibal army to peaceful Christians by loving services rendered to them and by altering their ideals by putting different ideas into their heads. The European continent militarists will be changed from soldiers of a cannon army to peaceful Christians by loving services rendered to them and by altering their ideals by putting different ideas into their heads. All talk of forming a league to "Enforce Ideals Into People's Heads," as Jael poked the tent-pen into Sisera's head, is futile. Does the president of Harvard University and do the law professors of Yale University use that method on their students? Very well; is the universe anything but the University of Mankind?

Respectfully,

DANE S. DUNLOP.

MARCH 13.

P. S.—See how a good thing takes! Indiana has lit the grass! May the prairie fire the Hoosiers have started for the Department of Peace grow into a blaze that shall sweep all before it! Philadelphia has caught a spark that lit on the altar of Temple Kenneth Israel! Let the prairie fire of Peace Department reform pass from Indiana to the East, from church to synagogue, from race to race, from nation to nation, as the plan contemplates! Oh! if I just had some money to hire some bell ringers! I would start the church bells and the fire bells and the society belles and, do not forget my own profession, the farmers, with their cow bells, all ringing to attract attention to the prairie fire of roaring, flaming, consuming approval of the Hoosier plan of a Department of Peace! Now you need not laugh, for all the angels would be glad to help me, and we would do it together! The woods and hills, and, yea, even the city slums, are full of angels, or at least of some sort of spiritual power that responds when foolish men have sense enough to put their trust in it and go forward!

Now, one of these angels dropped a spark from our prairie fire on the altar of Temple Kenneth Israel, and Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf saw it, and he is the kind of man who knows a good thing when he sees it. And he said in his mind, "Behold! a spark from the divine fires of truth! It is given to me to show to the people!" And he used his breath on it, and it blazed into glorious light before the congregation of Temple Kenneth Israel on January 30, 1916, just one week after my own peace meeting presenting the Department of Peace to the congregation of Locust Street Methodist Episcopal Church in Greencastle, Indiana, reported in the March ADVOCATE OF PEACE. And the light in Temple Kenneth Israel attracted public attention, and leaped from the altar of the synagogue to the pages of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*. And when that paper blazed with the plan of a Department of Peace, the light of the truth was seen as far away as the city of Lincoln, Nebraska, and a spark of the divine fire fell on the desk of the editor of the *Commoner*. And he said in his mind: "Behold! a spark from the divine fires of truth! It is given to me to show to the people!" And he spread it in a large two-column heading on page 30 of the March *Commoner*: "Urge Peace Minister in the President's Cabinet!" And the mail-sack grabbed a copy of the *Commoner*, and hurried as fast as the engines could bring it eastward again to Greencastle, Indiana. And the rural-route man took a wagon and two horses and gently carried that monthly periodical to my mail box and poked it in. Then a neighbor, passing along the pike, good-naturedly took out my mail and left it at my gate tonight, and when the *Commoner* was opened, behold! the light of truth, the blazing fire of the Department of Peace! Did I not tell you that the Hoosiers had lit the grass? And did I not write you last month that truth is its own propagandist and defense?

I would like to call your attention to the further fact that the proposal of the Department of Peace is only one arrow in the quiver with which to smite the Syrians. We need not stop at the third rap on the ground (like King Joash), if some one will only provide the bow with which to shoot. I see from the public newspaper reports that the American Defense Society between August and December 15 was given "more than \$48,000," and still

later \$80,000 was reported. I do not know how much it is by this date, and it is only one of the numerous military organizations. Money by the million dollars has evidently been given the militarists to spend. Is there not somebody who has sense enough to provide merely \$300,000 as a Peace Fund, \$25,000 allowance for running expenses for each of the first two years, as these will be the most expensive, leaving \$250,000 as the permanent endowment fund? As matters stand today, the World Peace Foundation of Boston is an excellent peace literature producer representing college professor influence; the American Peace Society is the old stand-by central organization, and the Carnegie people seem to be captured by the lawyers, while Mr. Ford is just sort of amusing himself, apparently. Meanwhile, the real people, the farmers and laboring classes, the masses, are not being reached by any fund. I want to organize a League to Express Peace. Either name will do. I can show beyond cavil that psychology, history, and religion are all in support of my League to Express Peace. If the lawyers want to amuse themselves with a League to Enforce Peace at their State Bar Association meetings, I would not interfere with them. But the minute they start to join the United States with the allies to lick the German-Austrian-Bulgarian-Turkish combine, then the League to Express Peace, composed of the great mass of our citizenship, would order those lawyers to go back to their jobs of court-talks and will-breakings. No organization that is a mere annex to the lawyers' offices will ever receive the backing of the farmers and laboring men. It is not international statutes that will uphold public opinion and the people. On the contrary, it is the people and their public opinion that must uphold international statutes. The League to Enforce Peace is based on the lawyers and soldiers, and means war, not peace. The League to Express Peace is based on the farmers, the laborers, and God Almighty. The newspapers say it is costing us \$300,000 per week merely for the Mexican expedition, which has only begun. One week's expense alone would have provided all I ask to start the League to Express Peace and endow it! The papers report that Mr. Ford spent over \$700,000 on his Peace-ship cruise. Less than half that sum would organize a much bigger peace movement, and one that would be a permanent affair—not a six-months' affair. He is now spending large sums in newspaper advertising. I hope that Mr. Ford will in time learn that people progress by expressing themselves, not by reading advertisements. The common people resent some wealthy man or woman coming into their homes, either in person or by advertisement, and telling them what they ought to think on any subject.

The whole idea is that some way the common people shall be given an organization through which they may be enabled both to develop their ideals rightly for peace and through which they may with effectiveness express their desires. The difficulty is that people of this working class are never millionaires, and cannot endow a Farmers' Peace Foundation, or a League to Express Peace, or whatever you wish to call it. Further, they never sit at luncheon at the Astor House or Delmonico's with people who are millionaires, and have a chance to talk matters over and show the money-holders this need. It seems to me that if some of you folks who are able to get by the barb-wires and trenches and stone-walled

protections that surround such men as Carnegie and Ford, and explain the situation to them, maybe they would hand over that \$300,000 by next mail, for it is the common people who will have to do it if it ever is done. If Ford lived near, at Indianapolis, I would go see him myself; but Detroit is too far away. Nor do I know whether he is an open-minded person of real depth or whether he is merely a "self-made" man who thinks only on "business" lines, and supposes that since he can secure all the hired hands he needs to make his automobiles for him merely by advertising, that therefore all he needs to do is to advertise for peace, and he will find all kinds of peaces, big and little, thin and fat, experienced and inexperienced, waiting at his office door next morning! I know better than that, having been a pacifist for twenty-eight years past, before there was any Hague Court even.

My first round with militarism was as a college boy a quarter of a century ago. The commandant at the uni-

versity sent me printed notice to report for drill. I turned it over and wrote on the back: "War is a device of the devil. I will not drill. A military corps is an improper, unchristian adjunct to a Methodist university. If compelled to report for drill I will leave for another college." There was a flurry, so I later learned, but nothing direct was ever said to me till long afterward. The commandant was very wrathy; but the president, finding himself in a strait betwixt two, had the gumption to overrule the commandant. One day I happened to pick up a book of army reports. Finding one headed De Pauw University, I was casually reading our school's report when I was highly tickled to encounter the sentence: "Students are excused from military drill for religious scruples." That was a new sentence in the report, and the commandant hated to write it.

But I find my P. S. has grown bigger than the original letter, and there is no way to stop me talking peace except to just cut the wire! I will do so.

PREPAREDNESS AND THE "DEADLY PARALLEL"

The following extracts are from recent hearings before the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives. Gen. Nelson A. Miles has a well-known record as Major General in the Northern Army of the Civil War, a fighter of Indians for twenty years, as commander of the United States Army from 1895 to 1903, and as a first-hand student of every military system in Europe not so many years ago. Gen. Leonard Wood became Brigadier General during the Spanish War; he became Chief of Staff of the United States Army in 1910. Since 1914 he has commanded the "Department of the East."

BEFORE THE SENATE COMMITTEE.

(January 31, 1916.)

Senator Fletcher: What do you say about universal military service?

Gen. Miles: You cannot Germanize the American people. It would be a step toward imperialism, and a very dangerous one. The American people are a patriotic people. They appreciate their system of government and their institutions, and they will give their lives as freely as any people in the world. But to compel them to perform military service, the same as some other countries, and to be absolute subjects of a despotism—we have not reached that period, and I hope we never will.

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Senator Fletcher: General, perhaps you would not want to express any opinion about it, but, frankly, it seemed to me rather far-fetched and absurd that it was a feasible thing for an army to be transported across the ocean and landed on Rockaway Beach or Block Island in such a way that it could take that portion of the country, and then come on down and string a 400-mile line from Chesapeake Bay to Lake Ontario. That is one of the important dangers, apparently, in the minds of some people. I would like to get your views about that, if you cared to express them.

Gen. Miles: I dislike to give my views on that, as I consider it an unreasonable and impossible proposition. That is assuming, I presume, that some enemy had transportation enough to embark 400,000 men, with 80,000 horses, with all the ammunition, transportation and munitions of war required, and supplies enough to feed the men and the animals for at least 90 days, because it would be easy to burn anything within their

(January 19, 1916.)

The Chairman: Have you studied this continental-army plan of creating a reserve?

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Gen. Wood: My idea is that any plan which fails to recognize that with the suffrage goes obligation for service will be only a makeshift and a failure. . . . The volunteer system has been a dismal failure in every war we have engaged in, and always will be. . . . It is a rotten system. The spirit is fine, but the system is unsound, and spells disaster if we ever go into a real war with it. . . .

My own idea would be to go right frankly to the system of general training, and make us all take our period of service.

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Gen. Wood: There is a great deal of nonsense in the press and a great deal of ignorance on the part of writers, to the effect that troops cannot be moved overseas. It would be very interesting to get the statement of Lieut. Commander Jessup, of the Navy, who was at Alexandria when the British allied army of 120,000 men came in in 98 ships. They landed quickly and easily, . . . and here is the point: Ignorant people always tell you that no one could land on our shores; that a million patriots would lock arms and push them into the sea, and so on. But they landed at Gallipoli, where the beaches are few and far between, where there was barbed wire under the water, and a most intense resistance. They landed and stayed there for five or six months. . . . There is no better way of moving troops than by sea. . . . There is no reason to sup-